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THE "MODERNIZATION" OF [illegible]
"THE POISONING OF [illegible]

by Tom Hayden
University Review LIBERATION [illegible]

[*Editor's [illegible] the war has [illegible] awaiting [illegible] Indochina. Sometimes, [illegible] U.S. policy makers [illegible] government of [illegible] of a grand scheme [illegible] interests. But [illegible] keeping track of [illegible]*

The following [illegible] of the interests [illegible] Hayden [illegible] series. Actually, [illegible] a very [illegible] Possession is a [illegible] Hoa, Rhetaine and [illegible] indication, the [illegible] should [illegible].]

When an Air Force general made the infamous remark during the 1968 Tet Offensive that "[illegible] the city to save it," he was speaking from an underlying philosophy that guides the American war effort in Vietnam at every level.

The destruction of the fabric of life in South Vietnam, the killing and displacing of its people, is justified by the concept that it is all in their best interest. Their lives are thought to be backward, tradition-bound, and poor, lacking in middle-class possibilities altogether. The road to progress and a better life, even [illegible] begins in a bombed village and then goes to a refugee camp, is the road to the city, to urbanization, to a "modern" world.

Samuel Huntington, former chairman of the Harvard government department and a regular adviser on Southeast Asia policy introduced the phrase "forced draft urbanization" for this process. In an article in the July 1968 issue of Foreign Affairs Huntington describes the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam as holding the "good Maoist expectation that by winning the support of the rural population it could eventually isolate and overwhelm the cities." And he says, ominously, the enemy will remain a "powerful force which cannot be dislodged from its constituency so long as its constituency exists."

"Forced draft urbanization and modernization [brought about by the "modernizing instrument of bombs and artillery"] rapidly brings the country in question out of the phase in which a rural revolutionary movement can hope to generate sufficient strength to come to power."

Huntington's plan to minimize this "constituency," has so meant the eventual dislocation of over 9 million of the 17 million people of Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam. And Huntington is not making an isolated and embarrassing comment on the true meaning of U.S. policy. The same views can be found coming from two top officials.

In January 1969, Newsweek quoted John Paul [illegible] top ranked U.S. advisers in [illegible]. "We inadvertently stumbled on the [illegible] guerrilla warfare -- urbanization." Robert Komer, the official in charge of pacification, later [illegible] admitted that:

"[illegible] a high percentage in this increase in [illegible] population [from 40% in 1964 to [illegible] in 1968] did not occur because of increased security in the countryside, but rather as a result of refugee movements and the accelerated urbanization taking place."

Since 1964, Saigon's population has grown from [illegible] to four million, Danang, from 120,000 to [illegible], Hue, from 104,000 to 200,000; Phnom Penh, from [illegible] in 1970 to two million in 1972; Vientiane, from 80,000 in 1968 to 160,000 in 1969, as Nixon doubled the bombing.

In 1960, South Vietnam was a 90 percent rural country; today it is 60 percent urban. Cambodia and Laos are going in the same direction faster.

Saigon was designed by the French to accomodate 500,000 people. Now there are over three million people within the twenty-one square miles of Saigon proper, and another million in bulging growths on the edge. It is the most densely populated city in the world, with approximately 150 persons per acre (Tokyo has 63 per acre).

After 1966 there was not even room for squatters. In some cases, squatters had to be moved because their "homes" (little mats in the street) were blocking transportation. Garbage, never before a problem in Vietnam, has become an immediate hazard to life.

The sewer system has collapsed, and the garbage filled canals are no longer even dredged. Fully one fourth of the city's electricity is consumed by foreigners for air conditioning; several blackouts per week are ordinary.

. . .

American plans for the "modernization" of Vietnam do not end at simply shifting the population into the cities. For the Vietnamese who have been driven into the U.S.-controlled zones, a new system of domination awaits them: a growing Western-oriented consumer market economy.

As early as March, 1966, Fortune magazine was claiming that "a South Vietnam preserved from communism has the potential to become one of the richest nations in Southeast Asia":

"It is not a bit too early for the U.S., which has sent some of its finest military minds to the Vietnam war, to send eminent experts on agriculture, transportation, education, and industry to prepare plans for South Vietnam's postwar economic development."

Japanese and American corporations are moving rapidly into South Vietnam. Economists and technicians are studying the economy, its natural resources, manpower supply, and quality of labor force, and drafting plans for the future. Even though the war makes investment a high-risk proposition, and (even though as one planner says) "the Anglo-American [illegible] of the corporation has not made

much headway," the official plans are piling up.

The reports which provide the basis for this conclusion are.

--The Postwar Development of the Republic of Vietnam, a joint U.S.-Saigon study directed by David Lilienthal (former New Deal head of TVA) for President Johnson, completed and presented to Nixon in early 1969;

--A several-volume study entitled Southeast Asia's Economy in the Seventies, done in November, 1970, for the U.S.-controlled Asian Development Bank in Manila;

--Economic projections by Columbia University economist Emile Benoit, published as part of the Asian Development Bank study;

--An economic report on South Vietnam for the Institute for Defense Analysis (a branch of the Pentagon) by Arthur Smithies of the CIA, RAND, Harvard, and formerly of the U.S. Budget Bureau;

--A study, connected to Lilienthal's, by Japanese economist Masataka Ohta for Japan's Federation of Economic Organizations;

--Another study by Smithies, with Allan Goodman, also a RAND consultant, on "The Possible Role of the United Nations and Other International Organizations in the Economic Rehabilitation of Vietnam." This study was funded by a 1971 State Department grant to Columbia University;

--And various articles appearing in journals like Fortune and Le Monde.

Although these reports admit that the South Vietnamese economy is now a shambles, they still go on to outline a bright economic future. The war, they assert, though somewhat damaging, has been largely progressive for the people of South Vietnam for it has now placed them in the takeoff stage just prior to prosperity and happiness.

The physical infrastructure created by the war is now "the best in Southeast Asia" according to Fortune. American planners glow at the thought of the 2,400 miles of highway, the countless bridges, the 600 miles of railroad line, the 200 airfields (five large enough for passenger jets), and the six major ports which have been built in the ruins of South Vietnam.

The growth of a cheap and relatively skilled labor force "trained in the basic routines of industrial life" excites economic planners. The Japanese business study analyzes the South Vietnamese people "from the viewpoint of labor quality," and finds them "superior to the inhabitants of adjacent nations." The report stresses "ensuring an adequate supply of high-quality and inexpensive labor, which does not quit easily." This "supply of cheap labor" is "without a doubt ..the greatest attraction for foreign interests in investing in Vietnam."

South Vietnam's role is to be a vital subarea in what Asian Development Bank (ADB) calls a "new international division of labor." Its economic roles would be (1) to continue as a market for U.S. investments; (2) to be a purchasing point for subsidiary companies to obtain goods from the U.S.; (3) to supply rice, lumber, rubber, and other goods to countries like Japan.

Its own manufacturing responsibility, in the words of the ADB, would be the "production of components for multinational companies which [would then] assume the responsibility for world marketing of the output." Electronic parts, bicycle and motorcycle components are specifically mentioned as products.

Thus even before the war ends, the U.S. is shaping a new economic system for South Vietnam in which the Vietnamese people are supposed to play a vital but subordinate role, and in which their economy and national independence will be in the hands of the U.S. and Japan.

American corporations like Standard Oil, Shell, and Ford have moved into South Vietnam, and dozens of other contractors, builders, machine tool companies, and producers of agricultural equipment are involved. Alongside them are the expanding Japanese business interests: farm machinery factories, telephone and water works systems, a Sony assembly plant. And Toyota is rumored to be coming.

Japanese business investment in Saigon was only $4 million from 1960-69, but since the Nixon doctrine, Japanese investment has jumped to $32 million. "As the Americans withdraw, the Japanese are becoming more visible here," reported the New York Times, December 21, 1971. Motorcycles, television, radio, rice cookers, fans, refrigerators, and phonographs -- all Japanese-made -- "are all commonly found in Vietnamese middle-class homes."

* * *

The potentially most important questions about economic exploitation of South Vietnam and Indochina, however, revolve about neither countryside nor city but about the vast stretches of the South China Sea -- where oil is said to lie in abundance. With the greedy excitement of the British seeking ivory in Africa and the Americans seeking gold in California, U.S. oil companies are becoming involved in Southeast Asia.

There have been persistent reports of secret negotiations between the State Department, the Saigon government, and the oil companies. Although all sides now minimize the oil issue because of public protest ("You won't find anyone here willing to talk about it and be identified. It's become a real hot potato," said one oilman in the April 1971, Journal of Commerce), there is undeniable evidence of the growing "oil stake" in Vietnam.

In May, 1970, David Rockefeller predicted $35 billion would be invested by oil companies in Asia, especially in Southeast Asia, over the next twelve years. That same spring the U.S. Journal of Commerce declared that South Vietnam "may contain the richest petroleum deposits in Southeast Asia." And the influential Petroleum Engineer in June, 1970, tied the oil issue to a satisfactory settlement in Vietnam.

"If and when the U.S. wins its objectives there,

oil exploration conceivably could be successful enough to turn that part of the world into another south Louisiana-Texas type producing area. This would be one of the biggest booms in the industry's history. It all depends on the Vietnam war, how long it takes to get the job done and how well the job is done."

The evidence dictates the conclusion that the U.S. instead of withdrawing, is constantly probing and deepening new interests in Indochina.

The October, 1971, issue of Fortune states the long-run perspective this way:

"In the end, perhaps the most important legacy of U.S. involvement in Vietnam will be the introduction of modern industrial organization. Exposure to Western ideas and technology has profoundly changed traditional Vietnamese attitudes. More than highways or ports, these trained people could be the most valuable part of the new infrastructure being left behind in Vietnam by the U.S."

These statements mean essentially that the people are driven into the cities as refugees so that they will be absorbed into a materialistic value system, will become turned on to Sony transistor radios, Honda motorbikes and the whole Western consumer culture, leaving behind their traditional ways -- and communism.

North Vietnam's leading poet Tho Huu has said the American target in South Vietnam is not simply military slaughter but "the poisoning of people's souls."

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"PRESIDENTS OF THE U.S. COME AND GO, BUT THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE REMAIN": A MESSAGE TO AMERICANS FROM THE PRG

LIBERATION News Service

[Editor's note: the following personal message to anti-war Americans was given to LNS Paris correspondent Schofield Coryell by Ly Van Sau, one of the Provisional Revolutionary Government's spokesmen at the Paris Peace talks.]

"This newest act of escalation -- the bombing and mining of Haiphong and other ports in the North -- is aimed directly and exclusively against the people themselves. It can not possibly affect the situation on the battlefields of the South over 2,000 kilometers away. The real aim of these acts of war is to hurt the people, to make them suffer, to intimidate them -- such a policy, as you know, has a name: genocide."

After this introduction, Ly Van Sau, the PRG spokesman in Paris, in a message to anti-war Americans, went on to reiterate the views of the liberation movement following Nixon's recent escalation of the war:

"What is particularly dangerous is that Nixon is playing on the chord of 'patriotism', the chord of national chauvinism. He refuses to be the first American president to lose a war, to abdicate the U.S.'s international role as gendarme of the world."

"To justify his criminal acts," continued Ly Van Sau, "Nixon is resorting to slander. It is not true that we are trying to impose a 'communist regime' on South Vietnam. What we want is an <u>independent</u> South Vietnam.

"Nixon also claims that we are sabotaging the Paris Conference. This too is untrue. We are here to negotiate."

Turning his attention to the American scene, the PRG spokesman said: "Nixon is trying to humiliate the Vietnamese people, but in reality he is humiliating only himself and the people of the U.S. To our friends in the U.S. we say: your responsibility is very great. All these crimes are being committed in your name, in the name of democracy, in the name of freedom.

"The present situation is very serious, but we want to tell you that no matter how severe the escalation of the war, our people will never cease fighting; we will never be defeated. Presidents of the U.S. come and go, but the Vietnamese people remain.

"Nixon's desperate reaction is caused by the defeat of the Saigon Army. We must ask ourselves the question -- Why has the Saigon Army been defeated?

"It has not been defeated because it was outnumbered or because it lacked massive air and naval support. How is it that the Saigon army, with a much larger force than ours, cannot win? It is because 'Vietnamization' is but a word in the Pentagon vocabulary. It is impossible to make a people fight against its own kith and kin.

"The bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong is just another way to prolong the war; it cannot save 'Vietnamization' from defeat.

"These acts only show the stubbornness of Nixon -- they show his desire to destroy a country he cannot conquer.

"In attacking the Vietnamese people, Nixon is attacking the American people; he is attacking them with lies, with slander, with maneuvers and trickery. We hope that everyone of you will do the best your conscience enables you to do. The Vietnamese people are fighting not only for themselves, but for you also. The more difficult your condition, the more glorious is your struggle for justice and for freedom.

"Nixon will be defeated because he is bringing defeat upon himself: before going to Peking, he stepped up his bombing of Vietnam; and now before going to Moscow, he is doing the same thing.

"Nixon's whole rationale can be summed up in one phrase: Might makes right!

"Nixon has called the Vietnamese people 'outlaws'. If to fight for justice is to be an outlaw, then millions of people today are asking for such a glorious title.

"It is Nixon who is the real gangster; it is he who has violated all international laws and international agreements."

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COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY: TAKING OVER A BUILDING, THIRD WORLD STYLE

NEW YORK (LNS)--"We want everybody to know that we are occupying Lewisohn Hall, not only because of the Urban Center, but also as a celebration of the victories of the Vietnamese people." And so they did, and so they held it for 17 days. They were the third world students at Columbia University who decided to take the action following the escalation of the bombing in North Vietnam in mid-April.

On Monday April 24, the students took over Columbia's Urban Center at Lewisohn Hall and on the 28th they took over the whole building. The students had decided to concentrate first on the center because of its relationship with the community and the third world students at Columbia.

The Urban Center was supposedly formed to serve the needs of the black and Latin communities surrounding the university. A Puerto Rican Development Project that the Center was running had been alloted about $100,000 that it never used and the students were asking for it to be channeled into community-controlled programs. They were also asking for a Latin Institute (for the study of Latin America) to be immediately established according to a proposal that had been made more than six months before; that they use the center's resources to help the repair of community buildings around the university area and the center's influence to help the squatters movement working in the university area; and that the director Lloyd Johnson and assistant Felix Cosme be fired immediately because of their refusal to cooperate in making the Urban Center an integral part of the community and its needs.

The students barricaded the entrace of the underground tunnels that connect all of the buildings in Columbia--the same tunnels that were used to break up the occupations in 1968. The Lewisohn students used the same method that had proved successful in anotheroccupied building. A physics student with a slide rule took careful measurements about the force the police had on their side and they built a barricade that not even the snowplows that the police used were able to break through. (They later broke through in the other building, Hamilton, by tearing apart the walls of the building.)

The students weren't alone either. Immediately after the take-over, the people from the community adjoining the university plus other third world groups around the New York area offered their help and expressed complete approval of the action

During the second week, workshops were held around the area of Lewisohn Hall and one night the students invited the community for a dinner they prepared themselves inside the building. That night, people were all over the first floor of Lewisohn

Those who weren't eating were dancing, first to the music of a record player and later to the music of a band that was brought especially for the occassion. An Argentinian, from a New York theater group, sang revolutionary Latin American songs and some Dominicans recited poetry and sang songs about [illegible] their country--all in between chants of "[illegible] Libre" and other slogans related to the world struggle. And the community kept on coming and going throughout the [illegible] giving the students their full support.

[illegible] because of what the spokesmen for the [illegible] for tactical reasons, the building [illegible] before the students locked the [illegible] and threw away the key. "By the time [illegible] had some unity between the students and the community," one student commented "[illegible] we had more pressure on McGill [the [illegible]] than he had on us."

The students then put out a statement criticizing McGill for showing "bad faith by issuing insulting, racist letters and by trying to forcefully remove us from the building."

Whatever way the administration may try to put it now, the action of the students and the results were no less, less than a victory.

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BLACK ACTOR JAILED FOR REFUSING INDUCTION

DANBURY, Conn. (LNS)--Arthur (Burghardt) Banks, a black actor who recently portrayed Frederick Douglass on stage and TV, is now in solitary confinement, serving a five year sentence in the Federal Penitentiary in Danbury, Conn. for refusing to serve in the armed forces.

Banks has been seen on two TV shows, "Soul" and "Black Journal". But his most recent work was a one man production of the life of Frederick Douglass which he played before black high school students, community groups and churches all over New York. He played two nights at the New York Town Hall--a large concert hall--and on Nov. 10, the day after his last appearance there, he surrendered to federal marshals to begin his prison term.

He was placed in solitary confinement on Feb 28 for his involvement with the work stoppage at the prison. He has been there ever since.

People are working to free Arthur Banks. For more information and petitions, write or call Denise Spalding-Banks, 229 W. 80th St., New York, NY, 10023, (212) 595-5505 or 873-2443

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"Open your mouths and let out your lungs, raise such a clamor that those in high places will wonder what all the racket is about and perchance feel tottering under them the edifices of greed they have reared

--Jack London, 1905

"[illegible] the bastards grind you down"

--Joseph Stilwell, U.S. General

[Note to Editors: The following is an excerpt from an article by Prensa Latina. See the Argentina story that goes with it].

"TO HAND THE MONEY BACK TO THE PEOPLE": ERP ON THE OFFENSIVE

By Julio Morandi

Prensa Latina/LIBERATION News Service

BUENOS AIRES (LNS) --The Marxist Revolutionary People's Army (ERP) made off with nearly half a million dollars in a recent raid on the Inter-American Development Bank. What stood out, apart from the size of the sum stolen, was the audacity of the raid which took place in an area where nearly all the major banks have their head offices. It was also 100 yards from the Casa Rosada (the government seat), and 85 yards from the central offices of the Secretariat for State Information (SIDE) -- the government's major repressive organ.

A key factor in the success of the raid was the participation of one of the bank's security guards, Oscar Angel Serrano, who turned out to be a member of the ERP. Angel Abus, a bank cleaner also helped. Since the robbery, the two men have vanished from their homes along with their wives and children. Police believe they may have gone abroad. Their theory is based on the fact that while it is comparatively easy to hide two men, the same cannot be said where whole families are involved.

It all began around 10 o'clock at night when Serrano invited several of the bank guards to come down and eat with him in the building's basement. At a predetermined time, under the pretext of going to the toilet, he let the first group of five guerrillas in through the only door that can be opened by a single key while the bank is closed.

Armed with sub-machine guns and pistols (one of them fitted with a silencer), they quickly bound and gagged the entire bank staff. Then the guerrillas let in a second group, about 10 young men equipped with acetylene torches, electric drills, explosives and other tools for forcing safes.

One of the most remarkable aspects of the operation is the fact that the bank's alarm system was rendered useless. Any disturbance whatsoever in the strongroom or its vecinity ought to have set off two alarms simultaneously -- in the federal police station nearest the bank and the other in the federal police headquarters. The alarm system probably also had a device which made it go off if any attempt was made to disconnect it. It's clear that the guerrillas must have had a highly specialized technician in their midst.

In order to get to the strongroom, they had to pierce three armoured ceilings too, more proof of their technical skill.

To get to the area in front of the strongroom the guerrillas crawled through the air-conditoning pipes which meant they had to burn through a series of metal grills blocking the way all along the pipe. They made a hole in the ceiling to drop through into the area in front of the strongroom where they took 200 million pesos from the cash boxes. Then they got into the strongroom itself and took money, documents and valuables.

About three o'clock on Sunday morning the bank's administrator and his wife passed the building on the way home from a party at the house of relatives. The guerrillas opened the door to him and Serrano explained the situation upon which the administrator had a mild heart attack. A guerrilla with medical qualifications was ordered to tend to him.

About five in the morning they decided to quit the bank. During the course of the operation they had taken turns to eat and paint slogans on the walls like, "We're doing this to hand the money back to the people" and "the national bank is going to be next." They also hung their flag on a wall -- it is sky-blue and white, like the flag of Argentina, but with a red stripe thorugh it and the letters ERP and a five pointed star.

Half an hour after the guerrillas left, the early morning security guards and cleaners turned up for their shift. When nobody replied to their knocking they became suspicious and called the police. The first policemen on the scene did not have the equipment for breaking their way into the bank, and all in all it was seven o' clock before anyone got in.

Besides, the guerrillas had left several suspicious-looking packages all over the building. Explosives experts were called in and a lot of time was wasted opening innoucuous packets.

All told, the guerrillas had a considerable time margin in which to make their getaway.

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[Note to editors: the following article is pretty long (obviously), probably too long for a lot of you to use. But some of our subscribers have suggested that they would like articles that they could file for basic information on different countries and political movements. So we hope that some of you might be able to use this and that others will keep it around for something to refer to when they need background information on Argentina. We'd also like to hear from you whether you think it's a good idea doing articles of this sort -- because some people have suggested a series of background articles on different countries, but we don't want to go ahead with it if most of you can't use them.]

"WHAT IS IMPORTANT AND DECISIVE IS THE PEOPLE": ARGENTINE GUERRILLA MOVEMENT GROWS

LIBERATION News Service

NEW YORK (INS) -- "Create two, three, many Vietnams ..." When Che Guevara issued that famous call to action, it immediately became a major symbol behind the growing liberation movements in Latin America.

The first three quarters of the sixties saw most of the action in the northern part of the Latin American continent. The guerrillas in Guatemala were flourishing, Venezuela was at its peak of struggle; the priest Camilo Torres led the involvement of the Christian movement from Colombia and around 1966 the guerrillas in Bolivia gained notoriety with Che Guevara as their leader.

But while this initial thrust receded by the end of the decade (the Guatemalan movement was practically crushed and U.S.-backed regimes succeeded in repressing every major struggle) the lessons learned were invaluable and guerrilla movements are now gaining strength all over again.

The action now has shifted primarily to the Southern Cone of South America, where the Tupamaro guerrillas shocked the Uruguayan government with their heroic actions in spite of the growing threat of Brazilian intervention: in 1970 the Chileans voted into power Allende's socialist-oriented Unidad Popular; and the Argentine revolutionary movement emerged as the new leader in the Latin American revolution.

SOME USEFUL ARGENTINE HISTORY

Argentina, situated in the southern most part of South America has a total population of about 25 million people. Second only in size to Brazil on the continent, it is a country rich in natural resources and a big producer of cereals and cattle.

Although it has a rather large rural population, the majority of the country's people live and work in the cities -- Buenos Aires (the capital), Rosario, and Cordoba. After gaining its independence from Spain in 1816, Argentina's potential wealth-producing industries were slowly taken over by other more powerful countries. By 1942, more than $2 1/2 billion had been invested in the country -- mainly by England and the United States.

* * *

Always a major power on the continent because of its economic development, Argentina remained in the background of liberation struggles after the popular government of Juan Peron was overthrown by the military in 1955. Peron's government, for its time (1946-1955) was a progressive one. Unions were organized in every industry; the social security system was open to all workers; education was free; and there were many other people-oriented programs launched by the government.

Consistent with his nationalist line, Peron bought up all of ITT's stock in the country and England's railroad system too, and instituted a Five Year Plan with emphasis on national self-reliance. But he did not go all the way with his reform. Though large landowners were forced to sell cheap, the land was never nationalized, so power remained in the hands of a few and Peron's own interests became more self-oriented and corrupt. In 1955, Peron was overthrown, despite much fighting in the streets by protesting Argentine workers.

The workers, threatened by a military coup, took to the streets and fought together with the army, which was still at that time on Peron's side. The army, nevertheless, refused to distribute arms to the people and defeat came when the air force bombed the capital city, Buenos Aires, and the army later joined forces with the coup.

In the next ten years or so things were quiet in the country, with the workers -- the main political force in the country -- disoriented by the absence of Peron whom they had looked to for leadership in the past.

In 1966 General Juan Carlos Ongania seized power in the country and with him came a big new wave of U.S. corporations to transform Argentina into the Latin American "model" of development.

Strikes were few and union officials were eating out of Ongania's hand in the first two years of his rule. But the country's economic situation was worsening -- wages were declining and police repression was escalating daily.

Finally in May of 1969, Argentina witnessed one of the biggest and most far reaching revolts in the history of Latin America. A series of insurrections culminated in the massive uprising in the city of Cordoba -- one of Argentina's major cities which lies northeast of Buenos Aires. Workers and students advanced with such strength against the police that they succeeded in taking over and holding the city for several days. Eventually the army was called in and regained control of the city but not until thousands were killed or injured or arrested and much of the city was damaged.

The Ongania regime was replaced with yet another military junta, this time with Marcelo Livingston at its head. But hardly two years had passed when Cordoba rose up again in March of 1971, and again, for 48 hours, the city was in the hands of the workers. This time federal police from Buenos Aires were flown in to stop the rebellion and Livingston was replaced by General Lanusse, who is presently in power.

Lanusse was smart enough to realize that Argentinians had had enough of militarism and he

more..

set out to pacify the country. He legalized other parties, promised elections in three years (now soon to be held) and promised the people that he would grant amnesty to Peron (which he did).

But Argentinians were not fooled by Lanusse's efforts to co-opt them. Right after the Cordobazo -- the name given to the first uprising in 1969 -- the workers movement took on a new form, namely the formation of several guerrilla groups which continue to gain strength in the country.

Today there are five major guerrilla groups in Argentina. The Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR), formed as a link with Che's guerrillas in Bolivia around 1966 and rose up again with the Cordobazo in 1969. FAR leans towards Peronist ideology -- a tight knit unionist structure. The Montoneros also follow the nationalist populist line of Peron and although the most "moderate" of the Argentine guerrillas, they have resorted to political executions (for instance, of former President Aramburu who was responsible for the killing of 27 Peronists in the 1950s). The Peronist Armed Forces (FAP) is the most armed of the three groups who look to Peron for leadership. At present FAR, the Montoneros and FAP are discussing plans to merge into one Peronist organization.

The Argentinian Liberation Forces, the fourth major guerrilla group is a Marxist group formed in 1967 but with no real following until the Cordobazo. The People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) is by far the most popular and active of all the groups.

* * *

Despite heavy Argentine and U.S. news blackouts, the Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP) attracted a lot of attention for their most recent actions -- the execution of Oberdan Sallustro, the Italian manager of Argentina's Fiat auto plant on April 10, 1972, and the kidnapping early last summer of the Swift meat packing plant executive, Stanley Sylvester.

But ERP has been around for a while. The group was born out of the Revolutionary Workers Party, a Trotskyist organization, in July of 1970. They are well remembered by Argentinians from the second Cordobazo in 1971 when they took a major part in the battles and gained so much power that at the funeral procession of one of the workers killed by the police they openly flew their flag and no official dared disturb them.

ERP depends on bank expropriations and other similar actions to sustain themselves. On February 12, 1971 they pulled off the biggest robbery in Argentinian history, taking $500,000 from a supposedly bullet proof armored car. Some time later they showed up in one of Cordoba's barrios and distributed medicine, milk, books, and other necessities to the people there.

Direct redistribution of what they have taken is one of the major factors for their success. They have set up distribution committees to give out the goods and in that way work with community people. They are so well known for hijacking milk trucks for instance that often they don't even need guns because the truck drivers are more than willing to cooperate.

The ERP carried out more than 800 actions in the first eight months of its existence. And although they have had to pay the high price that comes with guerrilla activities (more than two hundred of their group are now in jail and more than two dozen have been killed) they seem to be gaining rapidly in strength.

During the kidnapping of the Swift executive, the ERP demanded that the company rehire all fired workers (Swift is well known in Argentina for its ruthless treatment of workers), improve working conditions in the factory, distribute $63,000 worth of food, clothes and school material in specified barrios and that the media publish all their actions. Swift conceded to all their demands and Sylvester was later freed. But not before the entire city of Rosario was searched by police.

When 500 workers of the Fiat-Concord plant were fired in October 1971 and there was no solution to be seen, the ERP kidnapped its manager in March and held him for more than 20 days. Again they demanded that the workers be rehired. They also demanded the release of 50 guerrillas who were in jail, and all the trade union leaders arrested in Cordoba, and the distribution of $1 million worth of supplies in the barrios. On April 10 police discovered the guerrillas' hiding place and after a 20 minute gun battle the guerrillas were forced to flee after executing Sallustro.

The ERP maintains friendly relations with other armed groups in Argentina as well as with organizations outside the country. In January 1972, they joined forces with the Tupamaros (Uruguay's urban guerrilla movement) in the kidnapping of the Uruguayan Consul in Cordoba, and in 1971 they occupied the Bolivian Embassy in that same city as a show of solidarity with the people of Bolivia who were then fighting against the reactionary coup of Colonel Hugo Banzer.

The Red Star Guerrillas -- the name given them because of the red star in their flag -- are found in many Argentine cities, not just in Cordoba. In their own words, they sum up their struggle, "Naturally we think that the war is one of long duration, however we are convinced that it has already begun and is being carried forward by certain detachments of the armed avant garde. We believe that we have destroyed the city-countryside contradictions. We believe that we are able to fight everywhere that the people and their enemies exist. What is important and decisive is the people, not the terrain."

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GO TO WASHINGTON MAY 21*GO TO WASHINGTON MAY 21

STOP THE MAD BOMBER!!!!!

[illegible] some useful phone numbers to learn for [illegible] you're there:

HOUSING --- 483-9024
LEGAL AID - - 783-1060

MAY 21st COALITION --- 737-8750: 638-6304
Address: 1012 14th St. NW, Room 1404

CONTEMPT SENTENCES OVERTURNED FOR CONSPIRACY 8 AND LAWYERS

CHICAGO (LNS)--The Conspiracy 8--Rennie Davis, Abbie Hoffman, Bobby Seale, Dave Dellinger, Jerry Rubin, John Froines, Tom Hayden, and Lee Weiner--and their lawyers--William Kunstler and Leonard Weinglass--had their contempt sentences overturned. A three judge panel ruled on May 11 that the sentences--which ranged from over four years to two months and eighteen days--were illegal; a judge should either impose a contempt sentence immediately or it should be done after the trial is over by another judge. Furthermore sentences of over six months entitle the defendants to a jury trial on the contempt charges.

Some of Bobby Seale's, William Kunstler's and Leonard Weinglass' contempt citations were thrown out entirely.

The enormous contempt sentences were just the last step in the tumultuous trial in which Bobby Seale was chained, gagged, and severed from the case and in which the defendants and their lawyers were at odds with Judge Julius "Magoo" Hoffman's constant rulings that their witnesses and testimony were "irrelevant and immaterial". The state spent $2 million on the trial.

Of the seven remaining defendants (Bobby's charges were later dropped), all were found innocent of conspiracy but five of them--Rennie, Abbie, Jerry, Tom and Dave--were convicted of individually crossing state lines to incite to riot. They were sentences to five years and a $5,000 fine which they are appealing. John Froines and Lee Weiner were found innocent of both charges.

What the recent decision means is that the Chicago 8 and their lawyers are entitled to a new trial on their contempt charges If it's expected that they'll be sentenced to over six months they must have a jury trial; if not, they must be given a judge who hasn't already expressed a viewpoint on the case--which may be hard to find.

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"FROM SOLEDAD TO SAN QUENTIN": PAMPHLET ON THE SAN QUENTIN 6 AVAILABLE

SAN FRANCISCO (LNS)--"PRISON: walls, bars, chains, clubs, cold cement floors, rotten food, cheap slave labor, bad medical care, forced experimentation, isolation and solitary confinement.

"PRISON: a place where those who cannot or will not accept the way things are are held isolated from the rest of the world.

"PRISON: a ghetto in itself where people's everyday problems are magnified and aggravated by hired guards and hired wardens who hold immediate power over life and death."

So begins "From Soledad to San Quentin", a 28 page pamphlet on the prison struggle in California. It opens with the shooting of three black inmates by a white guard in January 1970 and moves to the killing of a guard three days later; the charging of the Soledad Brothers with that killing; the Marin County escape attempt; the Folsom Prison strike; the killing of George Jackson and following that, the indictments of the San Quentin 6

The San Quentin 6--Johnny Larry Spain, Willie Tate, Hugo Pinell, David Johnson, Fleeta Drumgo and Luis Talamantez--are charged with the death of three guards and two white inmates in the aftermath of George Jackson's death. They, like Jackson, were in San Quentin's adjustment center--the prison's most extreme form of segregation, which is reserved for the most outspoken, politicized prisoners who are trying to educate others They are due to go to trial sometime in the summer.

The pamphlet also includes biographies of the Six (for the most part written by themselves), poems and a chronology. The pamphlets which are 25¢ each or 15¢ each for 10-100 or 7¢ each over 100 can be gotten from the Prisoners Solidarity Committee, PO Box 40070, San Francisco, Calif, 94110. They also have a five color poster of the San Quentin 6 for 50¢ (35¢ for 10 or more)

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NAZIS: WHERE ARE THEY NOW?

BERLIN (LNS)--Periodically the newspapers report that a former Nazi living in obscurity in Argentina or Brazil has been discovered.

Actually there is no need to search for former Nazi big wigs half way around the globe for many are prospering in important positions right in West Germany.

A recent issue of the Democratic German Report puts the spotlight on a few of Hitler's underlings who are now flourishing in prominent positions in the West Germany army and in industry.

Paul Bouley was a major in the brown-shirted SS of Heinrich Himmler. Today he is a general in the West German army. The West German army is linked with the U.S. and 13 other nations in a NATO military alliance.

West Germany's top cop Hubert Schrubbers, holds a position roughly comparable to our FBI director. When working for the Nazis as a state prosecutor he sent at least 50 anti-fascists to serve long prison sentences.

Reinhard Hohn, a former SS Colonel, runs a college that teaches "modern management". As might be expected, Professor Hohn has found well-paid jobs in his academy for a number of his former SS colleagues. For instance one of his marketing lecturers is Professor Franz Alfred Six, who used to be an SS general.

Despite the concentration camps and mass butchery, there doesn't seem to be much shame or disgrace associated with being a Nazi. In fact societies of former Nazis get together for parties and to reminisce about old times

A band of 400 former members of Hitler's secret police, headed by a general, recently spent 24 hrs as guest of a unit of the West German army According to the Feb. issue of Der Freiwillige, the completely legal monthly magazine published by the "Association

more.

of Former SS Members."

Apparently the old Nazis got along well with the young soldiers. The SS magazine reported, "there was no generation gap," and added ominously, "the partners in the discussions agreed upon the ethics and the standing of the soldier in the past and today."

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GENERAL STRIKE SWEEPS QUEBEC:
"THE WORKING PEOPLE ARE SAYING WE HAVE HAD ENOUGH"

By Mark Wilson
LIBERATION News Service

MONTREAL, Quebec (LNS)-- Just before noon on May 10, the usual top forties programming suddenly stopped on radio station CKCN, in the remote port of Sept-Iles, Quebec, 500 miles northeast of Montreal

An unfamiliar voice announced, "This station is now in the hands of the workers of Sept-Ile From now on, we will be broadcasting bulletins from the labor movement across Quebec, together with music of the Quebecois resistance we will not give up until our leaders are out of jail."

Within two hours some 2000 unionized workers, in a spontaneous response to the jailings of Quebec's three top union leaders the day before, had virtually taken over the city of 25,000 and imposed a complete general strike. By the next day, the workers' revolt had spread to dozens of towns across Quebec.

On May 9 the president of each of Quebec's three major labor federations had been given one year prison terms for contempt of court They were charged with having incited their members to disobey a string of back-to-work injunctions slapped on large numbers of Quebec's 200,000 public service workers who had gone on strike in April

The injunctions had failed as a strike-breaking tactic -- the strikers ignored them -- and to force the public service workers back to their jobs the government had to resort to "emergency" legislation taking away their right to strike.

But meanwhile, a total of 42 local strike leaders were jailed by "the fastest acting court in Quebec history" for having counseled defiance of the injunction. When the top leaders of the unions' common front claimed personal responsibility for the disobedience, they were given the maximum sentence.

In Sept-Ile, the workers first shut down the sprawling rail, port and ore processing operations of the Iron Ore Co of Canada (head office: Wilmington, Del) a wholly owned subsidiary of a consortium of U.S. steel companies which mines the immense iron resources of northern Quebec and carts the ore up the St. Lawrence river to Cleveland.

In a pattern which became standard in the next few days, they went on to close down all businesses, schools, stores, transportation and -- to maintain order -- bars. They kept up certain essential services but enforced a price freeze on the shops allowed to remain open.

As the Quebec government rushed hundreds of riot-equipped Provincial Police to Sept-Ile by a Canadian Army airlift, the strikers shut down the airport and blockaded all roads into the town with huge pieces of heavy equipment

When police took a helicopter to teargas a crowd of demonstrators and attempted to land men in the center of town, they were repelled by molotov cocktails. Twelve hours later the riot squad finally dismantled the roadblocks and evicted the strikers from the radio station But by the time police had recaptured Sept-Ile, two other large Quebec towns were similarly shut down by wildcat general strikes, and within two days the walkout movement -- "creons deaux, trois, plusiers Sept-Ile" -- had spread to more than 100,000 across Quebec.

The snowballing protests shattered the government's confidence that Bill 19, its "bludgeon" law of two weeks before, had successfully repressed the public service workers by an imposed labor "peace" on Quebec

The new wave of strikes took an unexpected form Workers walked out spontaneously rather than by leadership directives and this time not just public service workers but also those in private industry were going out And the initiative was being taken by union members in small and medium sized industrial and mining towns in the Quebec hinterlands, where workers had been considered less "politicized" than those in Montreal

The massive protest does not represent an outpouring of affection for the three jailed union presidents -- dozens of rank and file meetings have severely criticized them for their conduct of the public service strike and for knuckling under to Bill 19. The union members were responding to the jailings rather as an attack by the state apparatus on the labor movement, at present the only structure they have to defend themselves against attacks led by the government on their real wage levels and working conditions

The second town to be shut down was Thetford Mines, where Johns-Manville and other U.S. corporations strip 90% of North American asbestos production out of the ground. Workers' control of Thetford Mines was so complete and orderly that the union was able to organize a "festival of the working people" Saturday with dancing in the streets to pick-up orchestras.

The movement spread almost immediately to the Abitibi region of northwest Quebec, where U.S and English Canadian capital mines copper, zinc and lead, and to pulp-and-paper towns of the lower St Lawrence where Quebec trees are made into newsprint for the Chicago Tribune and the New York Daily News

In a sarcastic reference to a federal government program of make-work handouts conducted during the winter season of high unemployment, one St. Jerome worker commented: "You might say this is our

own Local Initiative Project." An ITT wire and cable plant in St. Jerome and a huge General Motors assembly line in nearby St. Therese had just been shut down.

By the end of the week, the strike movement was spreading in Montreal itself. Large numbers of public service workers walked out of schools, hospitals and courts in a resumption of the April strike. Longshoremen closed down the waterfront, and all six of Montreal's daily newspapers were shut down on Friday, May 12.

Almost all workers who have gone out have presented lists of demands concerning their own workplace, region or industry, as well as the immediate demands for release of all imprisoned strike leaders and repeal of Bill 19.

The strike movement showed no signs of letting up over the weekend, as many union locals which had not yet taken strike action called emergency meetings to make plans for the following week.

"This time, the government has gone too far," said one strike spokesman. "For the big shots, they have a herd of bootlickers; for the little people, they have police and prisons. The working people are saying we have had enough."

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CHICANOS STRIKE FACTORY BELONGING TO U.S. TREASURER

LOS ANGELES (LNS)--Chicano working women, a Union business agent in jacket and tie, and young Anglo friends and supporters with their children walk in circles before Ramona's Mexican Food Products, Inc.

Huelga! Strike! "No trabaje al coste de sus hermanos." Don't work at the expense of your brothers and sisters.

Most of the cars drive quickly through the gate--a man driving with four or five women passengers. Most look straight ahead and avoid the eyes of the picketing strikers. A few stop and listen and then go into the plant.

Inside the gate, two Chicano young men stand and watch. They act very tough. They are Carlos and Martin Torres, the managers of the plant. Their mother, Romona Banuelos, built Ramona's from a small stand in East Los Angeles into Southern California's leading -- $5 million a year -- manufacturer of fresh Mexican food (tortillas, tacos, burritos, etc.) and is also head of the East Los Angeles Pan American Bank.

She is also treasurer of the United States, a position that is political and ceremonial. The job -- which nets $36,000 a year -- requires that she give her signature to dollar bills. Her appointment was a gesture to the growing militance and political power of the Chicano community -- and also a reward for $100,000 in contributions to Republican campaigns.

Mrs. Banuelos' appointment was the subject of mixed reaction in the Chicano community. While Chicanos feel proud that one of "theirs" is close to the seat of power, they also know through the experience of the workers at Ramona's, that she has risen to this position off the sweat of her own people.

This strike by members of Teamsters Local 630 began on March 6. The 200 food processors and sales people (nearly all Mexican American and two thirds women) had worked since November without a contract. Their salaries are among the lowest for organized workers in this country. Salaries begin at $1.65 per hour and move up to $1.95 after nine months. A few workers make $2.15 to $2.25 for specialized work. Employees must be on call six days a week and are only guaranteed thirty-two hours of work a week. Some have worked at Ramona's for ten years -- jobs are hard to find.

In addition to the low wages and uncertain hours, workers complained of conditions inside the plant. Injuries or accidents are not tolerated. Women workers are subjected to obscenities from their male bosses, and many have confessed that in order to get their jobs they were forced to give in to the sexual inclinations of the two Torres brothers.

Workers report that Mrs. Banuelos has threatened that their families in Mexico would lose their jobs if the strike here persists. The Torres brothers, both reserve police officers, wore their guns to work until superiors put a stop to it.

On March 27, the company obtained an injunction in labor disputes limiting the number of pickets to four at a gate. The injunction applied to local 630 and to CASA, a Chicano organization with a backing of more than 1500 people, which had supported the strikers. This seriously limited the ability of the strikers to stop workers from crossing the picket lines. So that while 180 workers were on strike, about 100 others crossed the lines each day. (Many of these are reported to be illegal Mexican nationals recruited in Tijuana by the Banuelos family to break the strike).

The issue of illegal immigrants is a complicated one. The workers know that the Mexican nationals are forced into the position of competing for their jobs and in breaking the strike. Since they are poor and risk being reported to the immigration authority if they don't cooperate with employers, they have little choice.

Romona's has now offered wage increases of 45¢ per hour each year for the next three years (an increase over the 10¢ a year before and 5¢ less than the Union's demands) and has agreed to the guarantee of forty hours work with only five days on call. But they say that they will take back only 45 of the approximately 180 strikers.

The Union is determined not to give in. As one woman said, "It's not fair -- to give all the things we went on strike for to them [the strikebreakers] -- it's not fair."

And local 630 Business agent Juan Barra calmly stated, "We're in here for as long as it takes."

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A NATIONALIZED FACTORY IN CHILE: ONE YEAR LATER

by Marc Cooper and Heather Dashner

LIBERATION News Service

SANTIAGO, Chile (LNS)--The banner over the factory's entrance read "Ex-Yarur: Territory Free of Exploitation." Inside, the plant was decorated with Chilean flags, announcements of cultural events and hundreds of posters from various political parties. It was the first anniversary of the nationalization of the largest textile company in Chile.

One year ago, April 28, 1971, the workers had occupied this factory, locked out the owners and demanded that the government immediately nationalize the plant and transfer it into the socialist area of the economy. Three days later the government took over the plant's operations, the workers prepared to run it themselves, and the company's name was changed from Yarur to Ex-Yarur.

As part of the activities planned to celebrate the occasion, the Central Labor Union of Chile (CUT) sponsored a play by a semi-professional group which travels around performing in factories and in working class neighborhoods. About 300 people--textile workers and their families--jammed the room to view the piece.

The play depicted the situation inside the factory before nationalization(when being a member of a non-management sponsored union was a dangerous proposition), the struggle of nationalization itself, and the factory's relation to issues that have confronted Chile in the last few weeks. Even the ITT caper was included in the play -- its mention brought burst of derisive laughter from the crowd. The woman who wrote the script put it together after long hours of discussion with the actors and the workers in the plant in order to insure accurate representation of the problems.

As the play came to an end, one of the actors stepped forward and said to the audience, "This show will be taken to every nationalized factory in Chile, of which none will ever be returned to its old owners! All power to the workers!"

After the houselights went on, everyone stayed in their seats for discussion of the performance. Several people spoke about their reactions and others congratulated the company for their forceful performance. Then a union leader announced that the workers in the plant had decided to create their own theatre company; one of the professional actors was going to work full time with that group.

The play was part of a regular program of cultural activities held at Ex-Yarur. Workers can attend free classes each day offering instruction in fields that vary from basic reading and writing to specialized handicrafts and technical skills. There are regular concerts and forums, and during the anniversary week the author of a popular novel about work and right-wing sabotage in a textile plant spoke with the workers.

The daily lives of the 2500 Ex-Yarur workers have changed in other ways since the take-over of the factory. The overseers who used to prowl around threatening the workers to produce more and more are gone. Today, a Consejo de Administracion (a council of Administration)--a 6-man committee made up of three "interventors" named by President Allende and three workers elected by a general assembly of the plant's employees--runs the factory.

The government uses this new form of management to guarantee the participation of the workers in the industry's direction. The workers elected to these posts continue working in their previous position.

A 15-member Committee of Production comprised entirely of elected workers proposes and institutes improvements in working conditions and is in charge of maintaining high production levels. (These committees also operate in private factories and companies that will be nationalized in the future to prevent those managements from sabotaging production or dismantling machinery.)

When Ex-Yarur was privately owned, there was a strict distinction between an "obrero (a manual worker) and an "empleado" (a white collar worker). There were separate unions and even separate cafeterias. But many white-collared workers participated in the factory occupation last year. After the nationalization, the two separate unions decided to merge to begin breaking down these splits and elected a Communist Party member as their president.

There is a free day care service for women with young children and infants, located in the factory itself, and mothers get two thirty-minute breaks a day besides lunch in order to visit their children. These rights were won over thirty years ago by the powerful textile unions. There is also a long established medical and dental clinic inside the factory.

But the most important aspect among all these changes was that they grew from pressure from the workers themselves and not from a mandate from above. The workers have a real interest in participation in the plant, and wish to cooperate with other workers throughout Chile who find themselves in similar circumstances.

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TWO QUOTES ON THE ELECTRONIC BATTLEFIELD AND THE AIR WAR

The "advantages" of machines over men in the army are numerous according to a report by Cornell's Institute for International Studies. It reads: "Instruments do not defect. They are not known to take consciousness-expanding drugs. They have no ethical qualms about killing civilians. . . ."

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"I see battlefields or combat areas that are under 24 hour surveillance of all types. I see battlefields on which we can destroy anything we locate through instant communications and the almost instantaneous application of lethal firepower."

--Gen. William Westmoreland, Oct. 1969 in the Congressional Record

NIXON APPROVES TRANS-ALASKA PIPELINE:
IT'S TAPS FOR ALASKA

LIBERATION News Service

WASHINGTON (LNS)--The infamous trans-Alaska pipeline System (TAPS), a 780-mile oil pipeline which would link the North Slope oil fields with the ice-free port of Valdez, Alaska, has been given the go-ahead by the Nixon administration. The decision to grant right-of-way permits was the culmination of two years of deliberation by government agencies after a 1970 federal court injunction obtained by three environmental organizations barred the permits.

The injunction still stands however, and the permits can't be issued until it is removed.

Conservationists stress the potential for disasterous oil spills and maintain that the pipeline would despoil thousands of acres of wilderness, change the ecology of huge tracts, pollute Alaska's rivers and harbors, interrrupt the migration patterns of caribou herds and take millions of acres of land away from native Alaskans who rightfully own it.

Secretary of the Interior Rogers C.B. Morton, in his announcement of the administration's decision the second week in May, conceded that development and transportation of the oil "will involve some environmental costs and some environmental risks regardless of how the oil is transported and over what route." Bur he claimed "the U.S. vitally needs" the Alaskan oil "delivered to our West Coast as promptly and safely as possible."

U.S. oil companies first approached Washington with the pipeline proposal in 1969; their investment in exploration costs, lease payments to Alaska (which contains most of the oil-find area), and preparations for construction of the pipeline itself probably already represent an investment of $2 billion or more according to the Wall Street Journal.

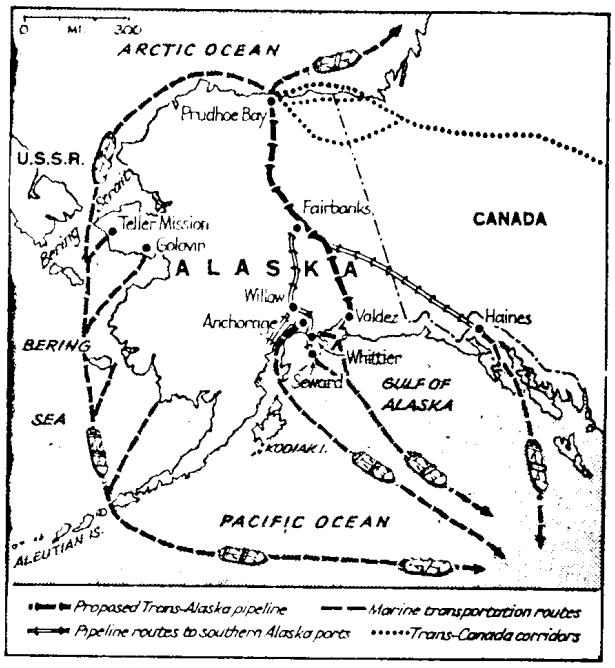
(Not that they're in any danger of going broke since they can write it all off their taxes. Atlantic Richfield, one of the two companies which made the find, reported a net income in 1967 of $145.2 million but paid no taxes at all. So actually it's U.S. taxpayers who have laid out those $2 billion.)

Upon hearing of the administration's decision, Charles E. Spahr, chairman of Standard Oil Co. (SOHIO), one of the partners in the trans-Alaskan Pipeline project, said, "it is a major step forward in the realization of a much delayed dream of bringing Alaskan oil to the lower 48 states. The benefits that will result from completion of the pipeline are potentially greater for SOHIO than for another company. Our leases on the North Slope of Alaska hold in excess of 50% of the proved recoverable reserves of crude oil in the Prudhoe Bay field. We also have 27.5% interest in the pipeline."

Robert Anderson, chairman of Atlantic Richfield Co.--SOHIO's partner in the pipeline investment, said the company is convinced that the project will be carried out "with minimal effect on the environment."

But just how Anderson defines "minimal" is anybody's guess. Initially 500,000 barrels of oil a day are scheduled to flow through the proposed pipeline from the wells in the artic to the tankers waiting at Valdez. The capacity will eventually reach 2 million barrels per day.

This oil comes out of the ground under natural pressure at a temperature of about 140 degrees F. Pumping friction, supplied by 12 stations along the route, will keep the oil about this temperature all the way to its destination. And it is this heat, coursing through the earth all day every day that poses such a threat to the Alaskan environment--and more specifically to the Alaskan permafrost.



According to the U.S. Geological Survey, permafrost is defined as "rock or soil material that has remained below 32 degrees F. for two or more years." Often this frozen subsurface is gravel or solid rock that remains stable when thawed. But much permafrost is of the so-called "ice-rich" variety--silty soil with a high frozen-water content. The proposed route of the pipeline lies along much of this ice-rich permafrost.

Disturbing the layer of soil and vegetation that insulates the permafrost from warm summer air and solar radiation can quickly cause disaster. "Permafrost is not sacred," said Dr. Hal Peyton, a consultant to the oil industry and one of the leading authorities on permafrost. "But you sure as hell have to pay attention to what you're doing if you start tampering with it."

As a Geological Survey professional paper on permafrost points out, "the simple passage of a tracked vehicle that destrous the vegetation mat is enough to upset the delciate balance and to cause the top of the permafrost layer to thaw. This thawing can cause differential settlement of the surface of the ground, drainage problems, and severe frost action. Once the equilibrium is upset, the whole process can feed on itself and be practically impossible to reverse."

SOHIO and Atlantic Richfield claim that they can handle the permafrost problem. Originally they had planned to bury the pipeline along 90% of the route arguing that this would eliminate it as an eyesore, keep it from blocking migrating caribou and make it impossible for the pipeline to be punctured. But because of the permafrost problem, most of the pipeline will have to be above ground, and the pipeline's builders now say they will build ramps over the pipe for the caribou.

The pipeline's danger to the environment is compounded by the fact that it is scheduled to cross seven earth fault zones, three of them highly active. Hundreds of earthquakes hit Alaska every year and though most of these are too weak to be felt, tremors causing substantial ground motion occur often and on occasion can be devastating. The 1964 Alaska earthquake took 115 lives and caused $300 million in damage, much of it to Valdez. If an earthquake were to smash the 48-inch pipeline the oil spillage would be phenomenal damaging vegetation and rendering the soil unproductive for many years.

In order to build the pipeline north of the Yukon River, the Alyeska Pipeline Service Co. (APS) must first construct an access road through the now trackless area. To accomodate that access road and work areas, the company seeks a right-of-way 100 ft. wide and along side there will be some 30 major gravel pits to supply the huge amounts of gravel needed for construction. All this leaves a vast amount of wilderness vulnerable to the certainties of litter, man-made forest fires, the scarring of terrain by four-wheel drive vehicles and increased hunting pressure on several species of game.

Caribou are not the only living things that will be tragically affected by the proposed pipeline although you might get that idea from watching oil company TV ads or from some over-zealous environmentalists. Native Alaskans--Eskimos, Aleuts and Indians--who make up one sixth of Alaska's 272,000 population have been shuttled into last place behind the big oil interests.

According to the Statehood Act of 1958, 140 million acres of land--traditional hunting and fishing grounds of the native Alaskans--were to be returned to the natives over a 25-year period. Years passed and the Alaskans realized that the only way the government would be made to live up to its promise was through pressure, so in 1966 they formed the Alaskan Federation of Natives and their demands were formulated in the Alaska Native Land Claim Bill.

But it was already too late. In 1964, the state, realizing that the North Slope was a potentially rich oil reserve, and that native pressure was mounting, applied to the Federal Bureau of Land Management for much of the land and obtained it above all protests. Walter Hickel, former Secretary of the Interior and former governor of Alaska, now suggests that the native Alaskans accept 27 million acres (the 140 million has already been slashed to 80 million) and the present governor, Keith Miller, suggests 13 million.

But to all this Washington and the oil companies claim that the oil is necessary in view of, as Anderson puts it, "the energy crisis which is facing us."

This "energy crisis" has become the backbone of justification for a wide range of actions by the oil companies--like raising prices on natural gas, and pressuring for continuation of the oil depletion allowance that lets them off the hook when tax time comes around. Considering the fact that the oil companies have been busily buying up all the alternative sources of fuel and profits, they're in a good position to create an energy crisis any time its convenient for them.

In recent years, oil companies have cornered the markets on uranium and coal (including the only two coal operators east of the Mississippi with large enough supplies to be able to supply big utility complexes). They've always had control of natural gas, includingholding off the market gas from 500 drilled wells on the Louisiana continental shelf while waiting for the price of gas to climb.

At the same time they have acted to squash development of other sources of energy that do not depend on fossil fuels (like oil or coal) and therefore can't easily be controlled by a monopoly (who could claim a monopoly on sunlight, for instance?) They have prevented tapping of vast fields of geothermal energy (energy derived from hot gases and waters deep beneath the earth's surface).

As the authoritative Electrical World Week of December 21, 1970 put it, "the battle to open government lands, which contain the bulk of America's geothermal reserves (some 500 times the heat potential of gross U.S. coal reserves) has been hard fought by utilities, oil companies, and independent geothermal developers." But the oil companies have the clout to assure that first Johnson and then Nixon would veto bills opening up these reserves, and the "energy crisis" continues.

Canadians are none too happy with the administration's decision either. The Canadian Wildlife Federation and David Anderson, a member of the Canadian parliament both oppose the pipeline on the grounds that heavy tanker traffic southward from Valdez would threaten the Canadian Pacific coast with oil spills. Donald Macdonald, Canada's minister of energy, mines, and resources, said that the "government of Canada remains convinced that the alternative Canadian route through the Mackenzie Valley is the best from all aspects." That trans-Canada route Macdonald referred to was rejected by Washington. Interior Secretary Morton termed it "impractical at this time."

Morton said the U.S. would need the "entire capacity" of such a line and that there would be "uncertainty and delay" in financing. He also claimed that this alternate route, favored by several environmental organizations, "would cause greater actual damage to the terrain and biotic habitat."

The administration's decision promises to be merely the first step in a legal battle that could well go all the way to the Supreme court. Interior Department lawyers apparently haven't figured out a precise method for dealing with the injunction but a spokesman for the Environmental Defense Fund, one of the three ecology groups fighting the pipeline, emphasized that the government couldn't go ahead unless the injunction was dissolved"and we're going to fight that tooth and nail."

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(Special thanks to Oil on Ice, Beryl's files and Beyond Repair by Barry Weisberg.)

ANGELA DAVIS: THE PROSECUTION RESTS

by Karen McConnell
LIBERATION News Service

LOS ANGELES (LNS) -- The prosecution in the Angela Davis trial rested on May 15 after eight weeks of testimony. Prosecutor Albert Harris called over 90 witnesses and introduced 200 pieces of evidence including a U.S. Armed Forces weather report that the temperature in Marin County on August 7th 1970 was between the low of 53 degrees and the high of 83 degrees

A reporter for a local San Jose paper summed up the feelings of the press group, "Well, if Harris ever had a case, he lost it."

Angela is charged with murder, kidnapping and conspiracy in connection with the August 7th, 1970 Marin County Courthouse escape attempt. On that day, Jonathan Jackson walked into Judge Harold Haley's courtroom and passed out guns to two San Quentin inmates Ruchell Magee and James McClain. Another San Quentin prisoner, William Christmas, was present but his role is not clear The four took five hostages out to a yellow van and started to drive away when the shooting began.

The San Quentin guards who did the shooting say they did not shoot first but no one saw a shot fired from the van before the guards opened fire. After 19 seconds of shooting, Jonathan Jackson, Harold Haley, James McClain and William Christmas were dead.

On March 27, 1972, as Angela's trial opened, prosecutor Harris outlined his case and what he said the evidence would show. He contended that the escape attempt was a plot to ransom hostages for the release of the Soledad Brothers. He said Angela conspired in the attempt because she was irrationally and passionately in love with George Jackson. He said Angela bought the guns used in the escape attempt and that her part was to wait at the San Francisco airport

Harris has never said, but he has implied, that the group had planned to hijack an airplane. He said Angela was with Jonathan on August 6, 1970 at the Marin County Civic Center and that the two were in the yellow rented Hertz van in which the hostages were put the next day. Harris said on August 7th Angela drove to the San Francisco airport in a yellow volkswagen which Jonathan borrowed from from a friend, and that there she waited for news of the escape attempt Harris admitted that much of his evidence is circumstantial.

What does the evidence show? In the first phase of the case, Harris set out to prove that the escape attempt was in fact a plot to free the Soledad Brothers (George Jackson, Fleeta Drumgo, and John Clutchette). Only one witness consistently said he heard a demand to free the Soledad Brothers. He was a photographer for a Marin County paper and he said he wrote the words "Soledad Brothers" in his notebook but he threw away that page so he had no record of it.

Gary Thomas, the Marin County Deputy District Attorney who was taken hostage said he never heard anything about the Soledad Brothers. Police and San Quentin guards claim they heard various remarks from "Free all the black brothers" to "Free all our brothers at Fulsom "

Harris moved on to show Angela's "irrational" love for George Jackson. Until August of 1971 he had planned to claim that Angela was politically motivated to free the Soledad Brothers. Then, in August, George Jackson was killed and as a prison guard and agents of the Attorney General riffled through his papers they found a diary from Angela in which she said she considered herself George's wife

Harris then changed his entire case from a political one to a passion story He felt that would appeal to the jury and at the same time would release him from the burden of prosecuting an overtly political case He staked his entire case on the diary and apparently had no doubts that it would be admitted as evidence But when he tried to admit it several weeks ago, Judge Richard Arnason ruled that most of it was irrelevant.

Judge Arnason edited the 18 pages down to two and a half and allowed Harris to read those to the jury. The defense had pointed out that the diary was written in July of 1971, almost a year after the escape attempt, and so it cannot have any bearing on the charges against Angela To show that Angela was irrationally and passionately in love with George at the time of the escape attempt, Harris has only three letters of solidarity and affection written in June of 1970 when Angela was coordinating the Los Angeles Soledad Brothers Defense Committee.

The gun which Jonathan carried into the courtroom on August 7, 1970 was registered to Angela and Harris called witnesses who sold her the gun. She purchased the gun under her own name and even gave one of the clerks an autograph. She has explained that she bought the guns after threats on her life when she was a teacher at UCLA.

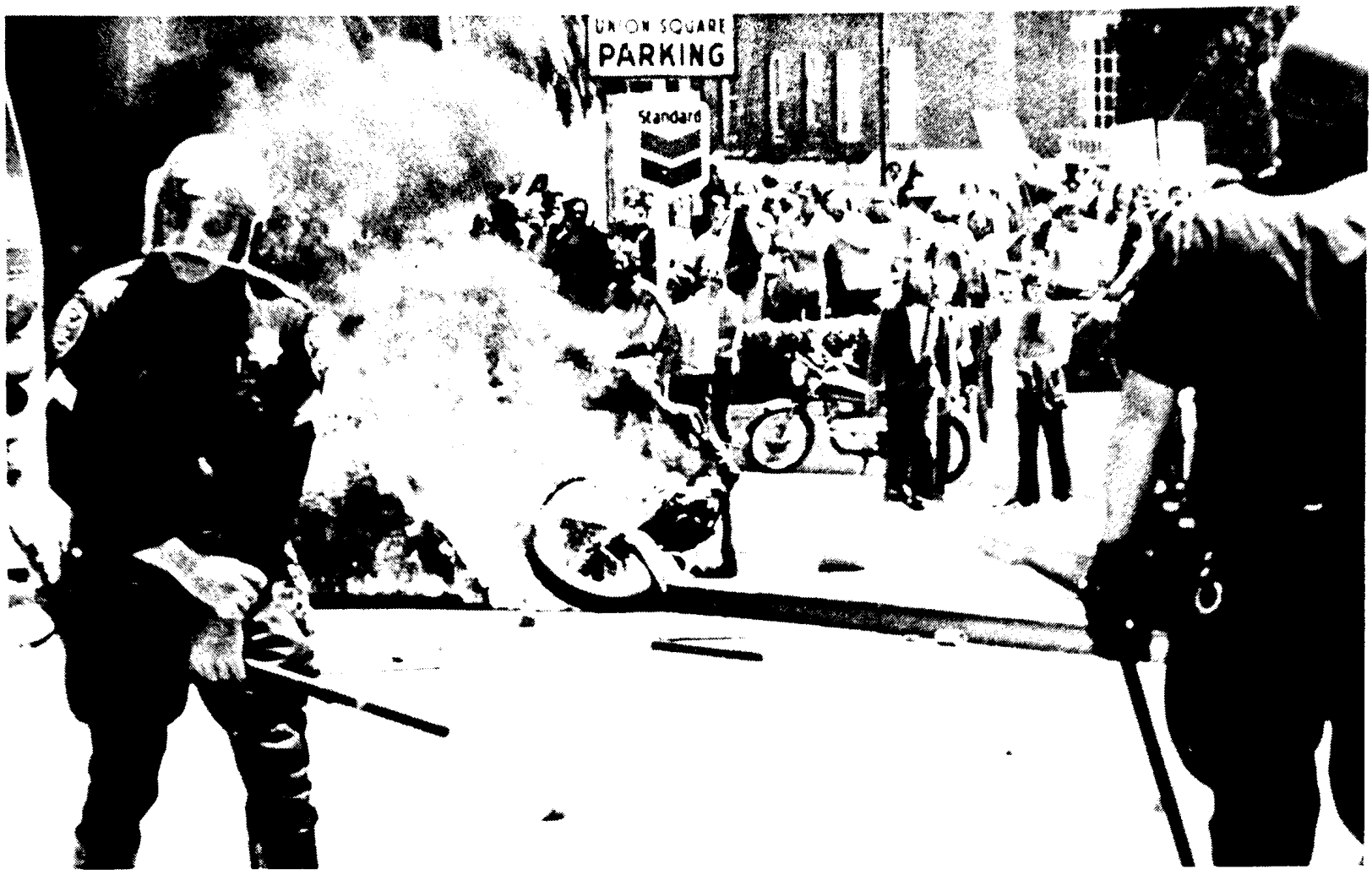
Two attendants at a Mobil gas station across from the Marin County Civic Center testified that they saw Angela and Jonathan at the Civic Center the day before the escape attempt and that the two were in the yellow van The defense attorneys discredited these witnesses but could not shake the identification. This was probably the prosecution's strongest evidence

Harris tried to show that the yellow VW which Jonathan Jackson borrowed on August 4 and was found three weeks later at the San Francisco airport was parked there on the morning of August 7th. The accountant for the lot said that there is really no way of placing a specific car in the parking lot at a specific time. There were several clear fingerprints on the parking slip but none belonged to Angela.

After introducing the weather report into evidence and reading the 2 1/2 pages of the diary to the jury, the prosecution rested. The jury was dismissed for two days and it is expected the defense will move to dismiss charges. If that motion is denied, the defense estimates their case will take three or four weeks Then each side makes closing arguments and the case goes to the jury. --30--

[Thanks to Community News Service for this]

that's it, graphics next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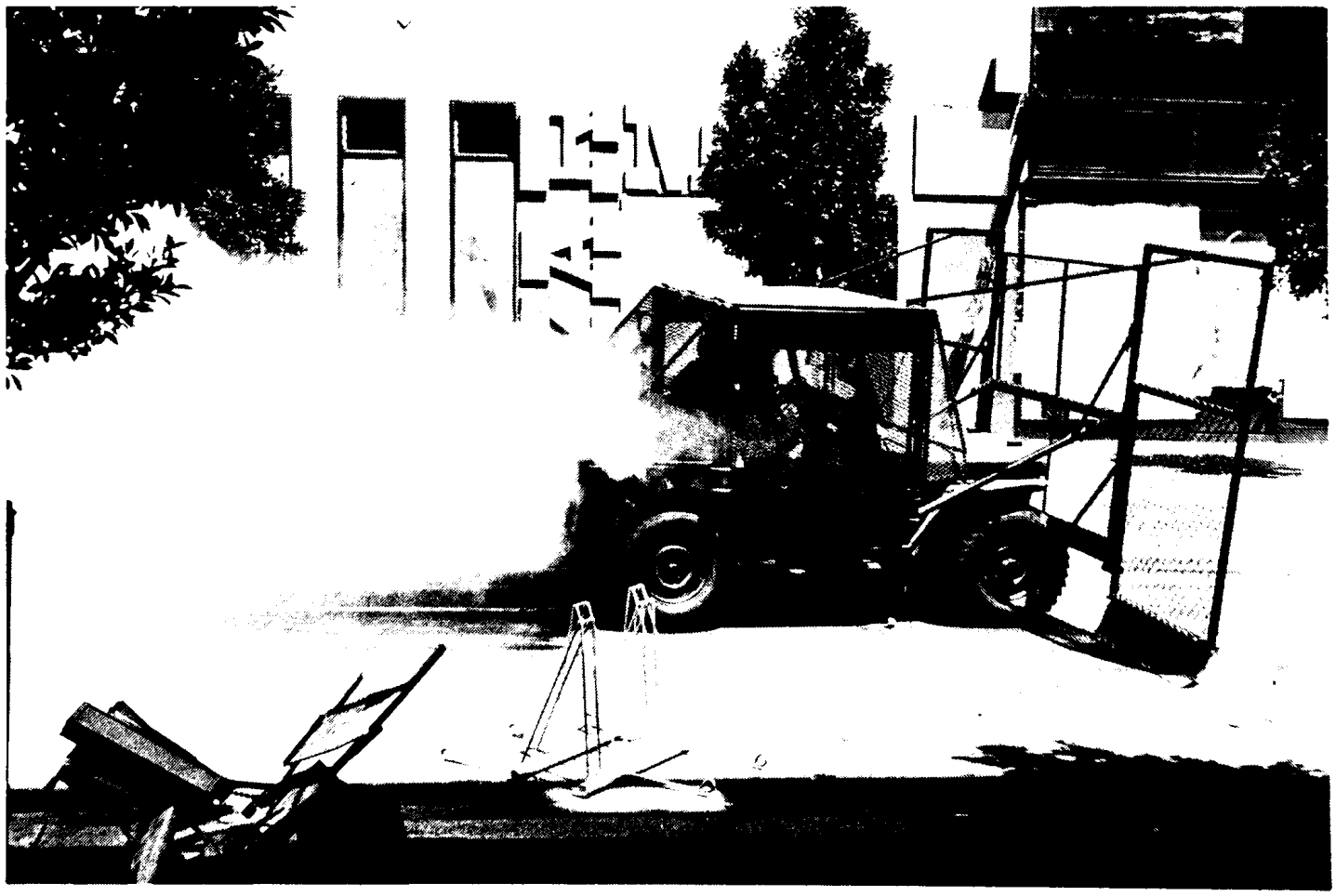


TOP: San Francisco cop rubs injured wrist as cop motorcycle goes up in flames. Confrontation occured near hotel where Reagen and Rockefeller were speaking for reelection of Nixon, May 12. Credit LNS.

PHOTOS THIS PAGE GO WITH ANTI-WAR ACTION STORIES IN PACKET #435.

BOTTOM: Pepperfogging crowd control jeep, Berkeley. Credit Nacio Jan Brown/LNS.

TOP: Berkeley People's Park fence being torn down by the people. Credit Alan Copeland/PHOTON WEST/LNS.

PHOTOS THIS PAGE GO WITH ANTI WAR ACTION STORIES IN PACKET #434.

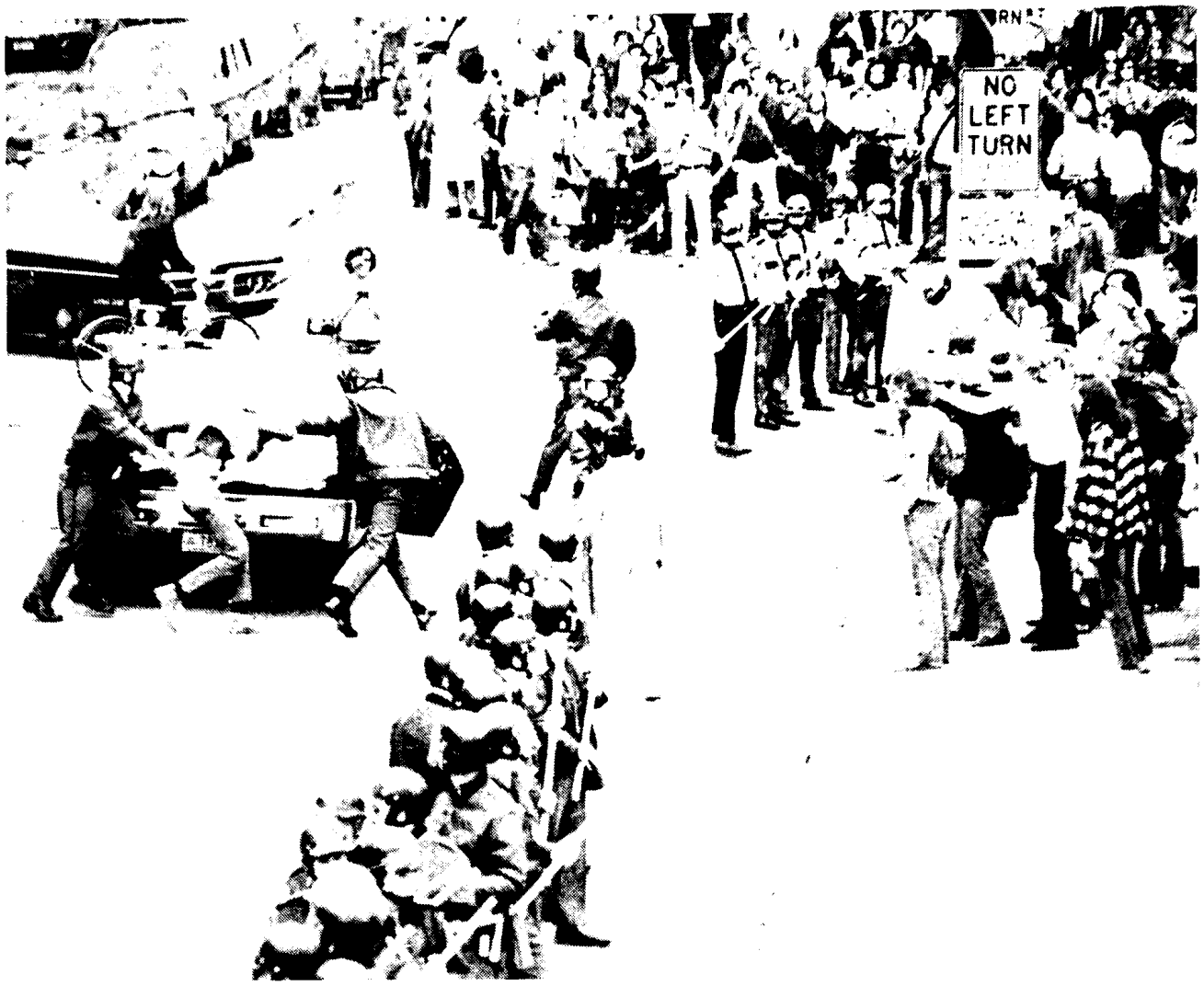
BOTTOM: Asphalt parking lot that covered People's Park is torn up chunk by chunk by the people. Credit Michael Mally/LNS.

LIQUOR

TOP: Anti-war people from University of Colorado block interstate in Boulder. Credit Glen Freidberg/ COLORADO DAILY/LNS.

PHOTOS THIS PAGE GO WITH ANTI-WAR ACTION STORIES IN PACKET #434.

BOTTOM: Returning tear gas at the University of Colorado. Credit Glen Friedberg/COLORADO DAILY/LNS.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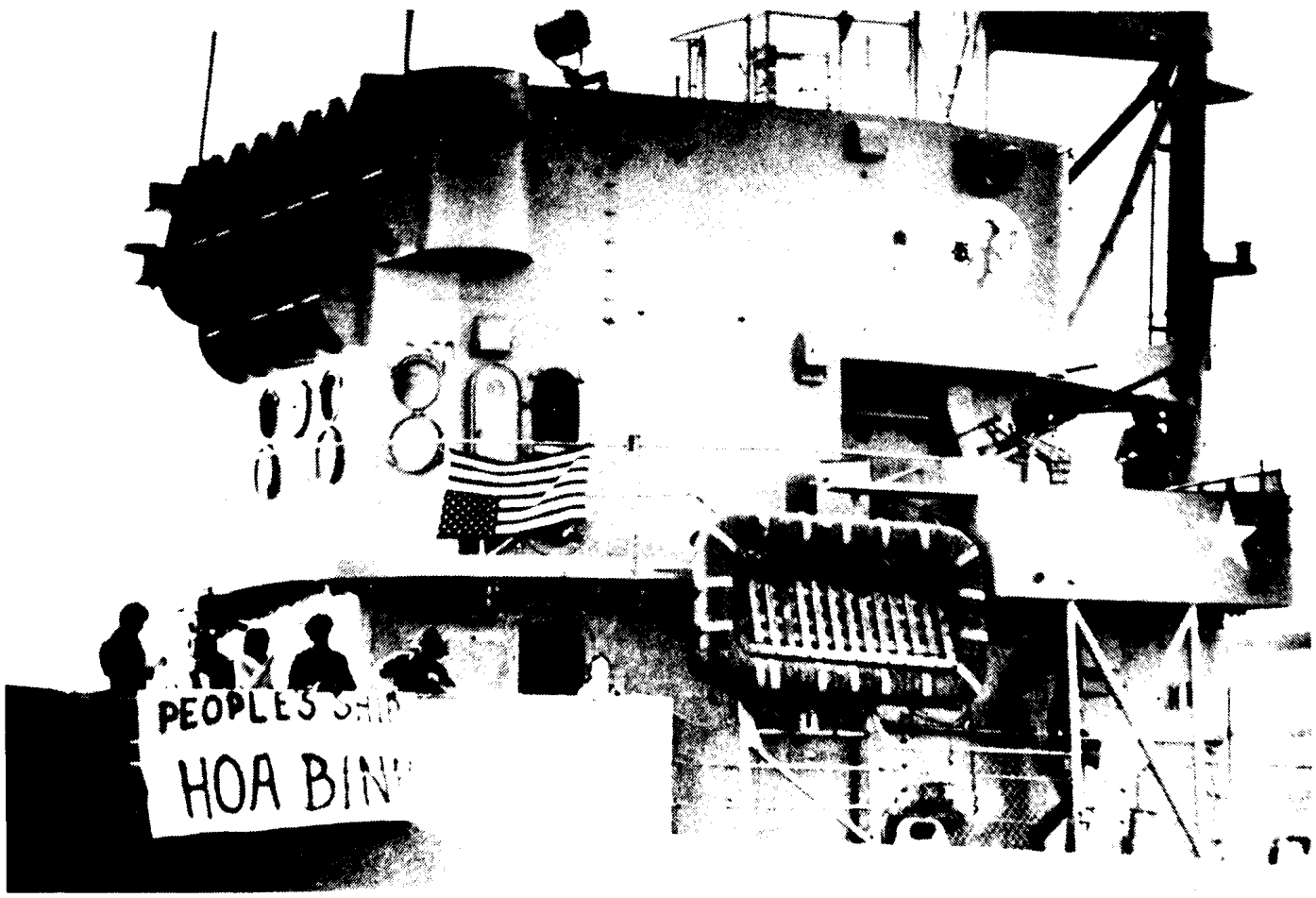

PEOPLES
HOA BIN

Top: Policemen bust anti-war demonstrator on the University of Minnesota campus, while others restrain crowd. Credit LNS.

Bottom: Ten anti-war protestors occupied the U.S. minesweeper Inaugural docked on the St. Louis waterfront, hoping to get the ship to North Vietnam to clear mined harbors. Officials claimed it would take a month to put the engines in working condition. Credit LNS.

Top: PLAF medic [illegible] wounded [illegible] from the [illegible] Army and ARVN in liberated Quang Tri province.
Credit Vietnam News Agency/[illegible]

Bottom: Angela Davis Credit Alan Hayne/The Eng/LNS

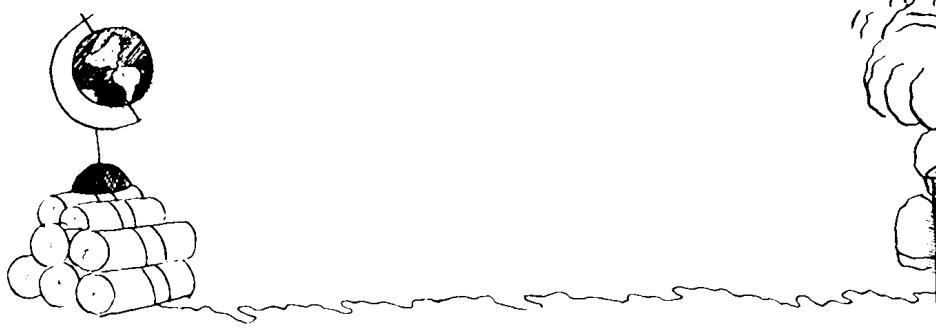
while our kids draw little brown cows in meadows, kids in indochina are drawing this:

TOP RIGHT: Credit RANGER RICK'S NATURE MAGAZINE/LNS.

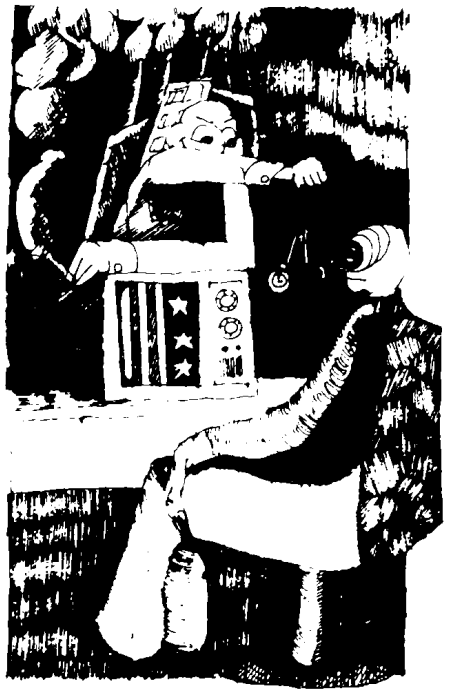
TOP LEFT: Credit SAN DIEGO DOOR/LNS.

BOTTOM RIGHT: Drawing by Laotian child. Credit PITTSGURG FAIR WITNESS/LNS.

BOTTOM LEFT: Kissinger caricature credit N.Y. REVIEW/LNS.



SIPRESS



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ARGENTINA
Córdoba
Rosario
Buenos Aires
URUGUAY
Pacific Ocean
Atlantic Ocean

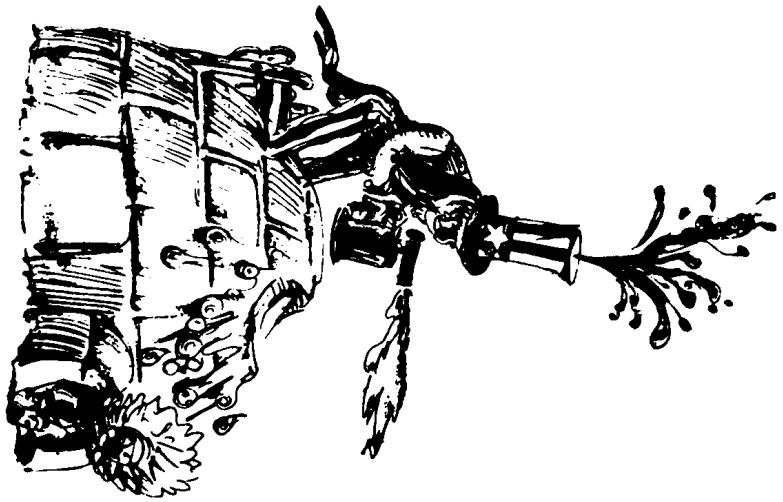
BLOCKADE NIXON
OUR ANSWER IS NO
IMPEACH NIXON
PENTAGON

TOP RIGHT: Credit UNIVERSITY REVIEW/LNS.

TOP LEFT: Credit Lindberg/WIN/LNS.

BOTTOM RIGHT: South America map credit LNS.
See Chile and Argentina stories this packet.

BOTTOM LEFT: Credit BOSTON AFTER DARK/LNS.



Top Reporter-photographer for the Florida Alligator, the University of Florida lies injured after demonstration after the anti-war demonstration in Gainesville, Florida.
Credit LNS
See anti-war roundup in last packet.

Bottom: Alaskan oil pipeline will destroy environment. Credit Gene Holtan/Ramparts/LNS
See story in this packet.